# NEW PROGRAM of the COMMUNIST PARTY USA

## The People versus Corporate Power

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# I. TOWARD A BETTER FUTURE

This is the program of the Communist Party, USA. It is a statement both of the Communist Party's fundamental principles and aims and of its views on how best to defend and promote the rights and welfare of the people of our country.

This program sets forth the essential steps on the road ahead—to the people's complete victory over state monopoly capitalism and the establishment of a socialist United States.

The Communist Party has been a force for peace and progress on the U.S. political scene for over sixty years. It is composed of workers, trade unionists, professionals, intellectuals, cultural workers, farmers—working men and women of all ages, races and nationalities.

The Communist Party is a party of our working class. Its supreme reason for being is to defend and advance the interests of the working class, both immediate and long-range. That is why it is an implacable opponent of the system of capitalist exploitation and all its ugly consequences.

The Communist Party defends the people's democratic rights and works for their extension. It actively combats all forms of racial, national and sex discrimination, inequality and oppression. It also works for the satisfaction of the special needs of women, youth, seniors and oppressed nationalities and others who suffer from the rule of Big Business.

The Communist Party advocates peaceful coexistence of nations with different social systems and

negotiation of mutual limitations and reductions in arms levels. In the age of nuclear weapons, war threatens the extinction of humanity.

In its daily activities the Communist Party is guided by the proposition "People Before Profits."

The Communist Party believes that the material conditions for a secure and better life for the American people exist in our rich and beautiful land. Our industry, agriculture and technology, developed by the labor and skill of workers, farmers and scientists,, are adequate to raise the quality of life for every person to a higher level.

It is the system of class exploitation and of monopoly capitalist domination which blocks achievement of these aims. Therefore, such advances require a process of sustained mass struggle in which the working class and its allies unite to break the monopolies' stranglehold on our economic, political, social and cultural life.

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The United States has long been exhibited to the world as capitalism's showcase, hawked by its defenders as having the best and most democratic of all possible socio-economic systems. But in fact, capitalism in the United States suffers the same inherent contradictions, anti-democratic features and social evils as capitalism everywhere.

Native American Indian peoples were driven from their lands and slaughtered in the drive to amass private fortunes.

U.S. capitalists extracted their wealth from the labor of people who came to these shores from around the world.

They profited from the inhuman enslavement of African-derived peoples.

European workers and peasants who fled oppression in their native countries became fodder for the sweatshops of developing capitalist industries.

The riches of U.S. capitalism also came from the seizure of lands from Mexico and the oppression of the Chicano people.

At the turn of the twentieth century, U.S. capitalism embarked on its imperialist stage, colonizing Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other lands.

Almost all the great productive facilities of our land, developed by centuries of toil by the people, are monopolized by a small fraction of the population.

Private corporations have appropriated the bountiful riches of nature, the abundant mineral resources, vast areas of fertile soil, great forests and waterways.

Big corporations have bankrupted and taken over millions of small businesses and family farms, and thereby have swollen into gigantic monopolies.

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However, the struggles of the common people for their needs and for greater democracy are also a constant theme of our history.

The Revolutionary War for Independence was a great, liberating step forward. It freed the North American colonies from British colonialism, abolished monarchical rule and established a republic. This was a historic blow against feudal reaction on a world scale. But native capitalists and slaveowners captured most of the benefits of these hard-won victories.

The original draft of the Constitution included no guarantees of individual rights. Mass popular insistance won the addition of the Bill of Rights.

During the nation's first century the brutal reality of slavery mocked the assertion that "All men are created equal." The fight to abolish slavery stood at the heart of

the struggle to extend democracy and labor's rights.

Five years of bloody civil war finally abolished slavery and won adoption of the basic rights enshrined in the XIII, XIV and XV Amendments to the Constitution. Triumph over the slavocracy also paved the way to the democratic advances of the Reconstruction period.

Until well into the twentieth century, trade unions were treated as illegal "conspiracies to restrain trade." The very idea of workers joining together to improve wages and working conditions was rejected by the government. Labor leaders were frequently framed-up and jailed, and strikes were broken by force. Finally, in the 1930s the efforts of uncounted rank-and-file organizers breached the biggest open-shop fortresses of industry and won union representation for millions of production workers.

In the early years of the nation, the rights to vote and to hold office were generally restricted to white male property owners. Every grudging extension of the franchise in the more than two centuries since has been wrung from a reluctant ruling class by people's struggles. The efforts to win women's right to vote was finally crowned with success in 1920. It took Freedom Rides, boycotts, sit-ins, mass demonstrations and the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts to reopen Southern voting booths to Afro-Americans in the 1960s.

We are heir to a long tradition of struggle which can count among its own such giants as Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and W.E.B. DuBois, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and William Z. Foster, thousands of other people's advocates, and scores of thousands of unsung heroes. Our history, in short, like that of every other class society, is a history of class struggles.

Much has been won by these struggles. But whatever reforms have been won have not changed the basic nature of the system. Our present reality, including the reality of conflicting interests and class struggles, is

still conditioned by the existence of capitalism.

The corporate giants and the government still "get tough" with labor, deny trade union rights, resort to police, National Guard, private goons, court injunctions and public anti-labor campaigns.

In the mines, factories, fields and on construction sites workers continue to suffer needless injuries, shortened lives and instant death.

Thirty million Afro-Americans are still victims of an outrageous system of institutionalized racial and national oppression. Similarly, the Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian and Asian-Pacific peoples are discriminated against on the basis of race and nationality.

Poverty, insecurity, illiteracy and chronic unemployment fester and grow despite the remarkable, widespread application of science to production.

Money, manpower, scientific and natural resources almost beyond comprehension are lavished on the Pentagon and its corporate suppliers. But far from enhancing our national security, this is the most serious threat to our continued existence as a nation.

And, not least, politicians beholden to their capitalist campaign contributors hold a monopoly of political power through the Democratic and Republican parties. Access to the ballot and to the mass media for minority parties and anti-monopoly independent candidates is still sharply restricted and in many cases impossible.

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Unlike Europe and Asia, the United States largely escaped the devastation of two world wars in this century. U.S. capitalism emerged from the Second World War by far the strongest imperialist power financially,

economically and militarily. For a time it enjoyed a monopoly on the atomic bomb. The corporate rulers of the United States set out to dominate and exploit the whole world. Their goal was an "American Century."

U.S. corporations became the biggest "merchants of death" in history. U.S. banks became the loan sharks of world capitalism. Vast resources were committed to maintain monopoly superprofits, to "roll back the borders of socialism" and to suppress national liberation movements.

At home, a tremendous wave of repression was unleashed under the banner of anti-Communism. Many of the gains which labor and Black people achieved in the '30s and '40s were rolled back. Militarization and the legal and repressive apparatus of a police state grew rapidly.

But the "American Century" concept was not based on world realities, on the developing balance of world forces.

The victory of the Russian Revolution in 1917, in the midst of the First World War, marked the first time the working people succeeded in taking power and abolishing capitalism. This ushered in the general crisis of capitalism, the period of its revolutionary replacement. This transition from capitalism to socialism is the main content of our epoch.

After the Second World War the Soviet Union, with unprecedented speed, rebuilt its devastated industrial base. Soviet science broke the atomic bomb monopoly. A number of countries in Europe and Asia, and later in Latin America and Africa, took the socialist path. Socialism became a world system.

Anti-colonial and national liberation victories occurred throughout the world. Instead of moving into the orbit of the "American Century," the formerly colonized peoples struck out on the road of independence.

Rival capitalist countries rebuilt their economies and moved away from complete U.S. imperialist domination.

And despite the repressions, the anti-Communism and the war hysteria whipped up by the government and mass media, the American people continued to find ways to express their desire for peace, for social progress and for democratic rights. The Communist Party was and is the staunchest and most consistent advocate of these causes.

These developments seriously affected the role of U.S. imperialism, both domestically and worldwide. They began a new stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

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The ruling corporate powers resort to corruption, deceit and repression to control the electoral process, to create divisions among the working class and people, to combat the anti-monopoly movement and weaken the people's struggle for peace. They dominate the two-party system and the city, state and federal government apparatuses and use them for their private enrichment and to defend their class privileges.

Corporate monopolies have meshed with government to secure a new level of corporate power. Capitalism has become state monopoly capitalism. The military-industrial complex has emerged as the brutal and corrupt hub of U.S. capitalism.

But there is a rising mood of resistance to corporate power. It can be seen in the ranks of labor, among the Afro-American and other oppressed nationalities, in the expanding scope and depth of the peace movement, in the women's movement, in consumer and environmental organizations and scores of other civic

bodies. Many are searching for alternatives to the rule of private capital.

Where is our country headed? How long can we live in an atmosphere of raging inflation and growing numbers of permanently unemployed, of systematic, degrading racism and of discrimination against women? How can the political and economic domination of the monopolies be broken? How can the people's goals of economic security, full equality, expanded democracy and social progress be won?

The Communist Party believes:

—that it is necessary and possible to break the vicious cycle in which the rich get richer while the working people must struggle to make ends meet;

—that the basic inherent contradiction of capitalism is that most of our productive facilities and financial institutions are owned and controlled by less than two per cent of the population;

—that the drive for corporate profits is the source of most of the social evils that beset our society.

What then must be done? Capitalism must be replaced by a system in which the basic means of production and distribution are publicly owned and democratically controlled. Then they will serve as a means to satisfy the needs of the people and not for the enrichment of the few.

This program outlines the course for today's struggles, advancing toward tomorrow's goal of socialism.

## II. CAPITALISM: PROFITS BEFORE PEOPLE

The desire of our people for a decent and secure standard of living is in conflict with the capitalist system under which we live.

Capitalism denies the great majority of our people the reality of the American dream of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This is because the driving force of capitalism is and can only be the unending accumulation of private wealth, of the greatest corporate profits, not satisfaction of people's needs.

The colossal U.S. industrial and financial apparatus on which the life of the entire nation is based is in the grip of a handful of private corporations. These giant corporations, in turn, are in the hands of a small and ever-shrinking group of fabulously wealthy and powerful monopoly capitalists.

The corporations and their multi-millionaire owners appropriate the tremendous wealth which is created by the cooperative labor of millions. They deprive the rest of the nation of the benefits which they should justly derive from their toil.

Opposing them are the millions of workers whose labor is the primary source of our national wealth. The workers own no means of production. They have no source of income beyond their own capacity to work, their labor power. This they must sell in order to live.

Workers have jobs only so long as their labor is profitable for their capitalist employers. Workers are "profitable" because the value their labor creates is

greater than the wages they are paid. This additional value created by the labor of the working class—surplus value—is the real source of corporate profits, dividends, interest and all other forms of unearned income of the capitalist class. This surplus value is extorted from the workers by the capitalists through the process of exploitation. Exploitation is the essence of the capitalist system.

**The Class Struggle**

The workers who must sell their labor power for wages in order to live and the capitalists who buy their labor power are the two basic economic classes in our society. They are the exploited and the exploiters.

These two classes are in unending and irreconcilable conflict. Their fundamental interests clash. The drive for maximum profits is the cause of Big Business' relentless efforts to force down wages and speed up production.

Far from having it easy and living "high off the hog," workers in the United States are subjected to intensive exploitation. Our factories, mines and construction sites are the scene of killing speedup and industrial carnage. Elementary concern for workers' health and safety is brushed aside in the scramble for production. What protective laws exist, the result of sustained struggle by workers and their trade unions, are under constant assault.

New, more efficient machinery embodying the latest technology is continually introduced to grind out greater profits from the labor of each worker. Automation makes it possible for corporations to radically increase production while sometimes simultaneously closing plants and laying off workers, contributing to a permanent pool of unemployed.

We are entering the age of the "chip-and-robot re-

volution." Microelectronic chips are replacing more production-line and office workers than any previous technological innovation. This leads not to greater economic and social well-being for workers, but to growing insecurity and chronic unemployment. Capitalists seek, with considerable success, to avoid the costs of the technological unemployment they create. Therefore profits continue to soar, while social misery increases.

Science and technology are not the enemy. On the contrary, they have the potential of making life easier and more enjoyable. But for science and technology to serve the interests of the people it is necessary to make a corresponding change in the socio-economic system—to make satisfaction of the people's needs the aim of production.

With the growth of productive capacity, a yawning gap is continually recreated between the ability to produce and the purchasing power of the ultimate consumers—workers in the first place. This inherent contradiction of capitalist society makes recurrent economic crises inevitable. With each cyclical economic crisis, more unemployment, poverty and mass misery are generated. Products pile up because consumers can not afford to buy them. Factories, mines and mills slow down and shut down. Unemployment skyrockets, unemployment benefits run out, people suffer. The machines that replace workers do not buy the products they produce.

All this sharpens the class struggle—the struggle between exploiters and exploited. Under capitalism, growth of production and scientific advance aggravate, rather than blunt, the class struggle.

The share of the national income skimmed off by the biggest capitalists and their hangers-on rises steadily, while the conditions of the workers lag further behind.

The capitalist system itself spurs each capitalist to

greater efforts with the threat of being extinguished or swallowed up by even more powerful rivals. Smaller and weaker companies are continually being driven to the wall. Those that survive must expand.

Therefore, the working class is the special product of the capitalist system. It is the one class that, in the face of unceasing technical innovation and greater concentration of capital, continues to grow in numbers.

Monopoly capital oppresses classes and social strata other than the working class. It systematically eliminates small business. The agribusiness octopus strangles family farmers, bankrupting hundreds of thousands.

Monopoly corporations despoil our land in countless ways. They destroy the landscape, pollute land, air and water, wantonly exploit our irreplaceable common heritage of natural resources.

Increasingly, monopolies originally based in a single industry take over companies in unrelated fields, forming corporate galaxies called conglomerates.

**Special Role of the Working Class**

The basic source of profit, wealth and power for the capitalist class is the exploitation of workers in the work places—at the point of production. It this lies the special position of the working class. It can not free itself without ending this exploitation.

The enormous concentration of production and ownership which underlies the development of monopoly capitalism is paralleled by the concentration of workers in the giant industrial plants. This enables the working class to acquire a sense of cohesion and a degree of organization matched by no other class confronting the monopolies.

The concentrated, cooperative and highly produc-

tive labor which is characteristic of modern industry is the basis for the special role of workers in big industry as the most highly organized and conscious core of the working class.

The ability to take united action at the point of production places the working class in the strongest position to combat capitalist exploitation. As the main creator of value, it is the decisive force for social progress. Without its brain and muscle not a single wheel would turn.

The workers as a class are the strongest and most consistent opponent of corporate domination. They are in the best position to lead all other social strata victimized by the Rockefellers, Morgans, DuPonts and Fords in a united crusade for social justice.

The working class of the United States is composed of men and women of many races and nationalities. But regardless of differing origins, its members have common basic interests. Each of its components adds to the class heritage their own experience of struggle against economic, racial and national oppression.

**The Labor Movement and Trade Unions**

Workers know from bitter personal experience that they can not win a one-on-one battle with a corporate employer. Organization is the fount of workers' class strength. And in the era of conglomerate and transnational corporations, organization becomes even more imperative.

Our working class has succeeded in creating a trade union movement of many millions of members. This achievement took decades of effort against the unremitting opposition of open-shop employers. Through really heroic struggle the labor movement has been able to extract some important concessions and to prevent workers from being forced into abject submission

to the corporate bosses.

But on this basic front of the class struggle, some of the biggest battles lie ahead. The great majority of workers remain unorganized. Many economic and social goals of the labor movement remain to be achieved. Trade union rights to organize, bargain collectively and to strike remain restricted. And what gains have been made must be constantly safeguarded from reactionary attacks.

And new times make new demands. In the battle against state monopoly capitalism, it is necessary for the trade unions to raise their sights from taking on employers one by one to challenge the whole system of capitalist exploitation. The class struggle extends beyond collective bargaining and the picket line to include political organization and the battle of ideas.

It is necessary to combat and overcome the poison of racism, which is consciously used by employers to divide and weaken labor's ranks. To overcome the divisive influence of racism it is essential that the white majority vigorously take up the fight for affirmative action to put an end to injustice and inequality resulting from racial and national discrimination.

**For Class-Struggle Trade Unionism**

The trade unions are by nature instruments of class struggle. They are living proof of the fact that workers as a class can only progress by fighting *against* their corporate employers.

Labor's fighting capacity is undercut by "class collaboration"—the doctrine that workers' interests can be advanced by serving the interests of the bosses. The capitalists constantly strive to corrupt the leadership of the labor movement materially and ideologically in order to get them to adopt class-collaborationist policies.

In a society dominated by big capital, "class partnership" or "class peace" can only mean the subordination of the workers to the corporations. It is class betrayal.

Reformism is another trend which weakens the fighting capacity of the unions. Reformism accepts the validity of exploitation and defends the capitalist framework. It only presents demands which do not basically challenge that system. But defense of the capitalist system conflicts with defense of the workers' interests.

Communists strive to win reforms which benefit the people. But they reject the notion that such reforms within the framework of capitalism can ever be sufficient. Communists are for reforms, but they are opposed to reformism.

Some unions keep militant workers from being elected to leadership by invoking "anti-Communist" clauses in their bylaws and constitutions. This is an instance of curtailing a basic trade union right—the right to freely elect leadership—under pressure from the employers and government. Experience has shown how dearly the labor movement has paid for the purge of its most committed and able leaders during the cold war. Such exclusion only weakens labor and strengthens the hand of the bosses.

Despite limitations, the trade unions are the most powerful champions of social, economic and political progress. They alone put limits on the rate of exploitation. They defend our democratic institutions.

Strengthening the trade union movement is a crucial responsibility of all progressive and democratic forces.

Communists stand for working-class and trade union unity, which are preconditions for winning effective working-class economic and political power.

The rejection of policies of class collaboration and the development of policies and tactics based on class

struggle are essential for a strong trade union movement. This requires a struggle against bureaucracy and corruption. To combat the influence of class collaboration and to build a solid grassroots base, union members organize rank-and-file forms of organization—caucuses, ad hoc committees, etc. The aim of such groups is to strengthen the unions, to mobilize grassroots support for policies and actions of struggle, to help keep the unions on the path of class struggle and militancy.

In the creative development of program and policy, in launching new initiatives and in solving new problems, Left-thinking workers and Communists, in particular, have been and are indispensable. The Left forces contribute an advanced class understanding of the problems the labor movement faces.

To help unify the labor movement and to give a lead in struggles, it is necessary for the Left to find special organized Left forms. Such forms are a necessary and legitimate part of the trade union structure.

The Left forces can be an influence in determining trade union policies only if they work with other trade unionists who have not yet reached the same level of understanding. A working unity between the Left and such Center forces is essential. Such unity is necessary to win the Center forces away from the influence of the Right-wing practitioners of class collaboration.

The Communist Party is committed to strengthening and rallying the trade union movement and all workers for the achievement of labor's progressive goals. It is proud of its long record of fighting for the unity of the labor movement and the working class based on policies of class struggle, opposition to racism and all forms of discrimination. No political organization has done more for the organization of unorganized workers and to mobilize support for union struggles.

## The Influence of the Working Class

The influence and power of the working class are not measured by numbers alone, but particularly by the size, class consciousness and effectiveness of its organized sector.

The organization of the unorganized remains a crucial question for the trade union movement. It is an especially critical problem because for three decades the percentage of workers who are trade union members has been declining.

This points up the multiple obstacles labor must overcome. The corporate giants defy collective bargaining laws, blackmail whole communities with threats of plant shutdowns, fire union activists, employ both thugs and sophisticated anti-labor "consultants" in their efforts to prevent unionization and to weaken or destroy existing unions.

The forces of state monopoly capitalism spend millions in political-ideological labor-baiting campaigns. Democratic and Republican Congresses have passed and presidents have signed various anti-labor laws, including authorization for states to adopt "right to work" laws. Supreme Court decisions restricting the right to organize and strike have their effect.

The capitalists invent ever new forms of class collaboration. They have involved such dead-end policies as the buying of corporate stocks, labor banking, the "social contract," and token representation on corporate boards. Another scheme is called "the quality of work life." It is a plan to make workers falsely believe that they have real decision-making power on the shop floor.

Full-time trade union leaders deserve salaries in keeping with their role as representatives of the nation's organized workers. But with the adoption of policies of class collaboration, in some cases these

salaries have risen far beyond the wages of even the most skilled workers. Such salaries insulate union officials from the problems of their members and make them complacent.

The labor movement can achieve greater power and influence to the degree that it frees itself from the bonds of class partnership and the divisiveness of racism.

Labor must add millions to its organized ranks and develop greater class consciousness and unity.

It is crucial for labor to assert its political independence and confront its corporate enemies as a class in the political arena.

To the degree all these are achieved the working class will fulfill its destiny as the leading and most dynamic force in the anti-monopoly alliance of the people.

**What Communists Bring to the Labor Movement**

Communists bring a sense of broad social responsibility and political vision to the labor movement. They enhance its great moral authority. And they strengthen its ability to attract other sectors of the population to its historically-destined cause.

Communists bring the rich experience of their Party in advancing the organization and well-being of the American working class. They are dedicated and incorruptible fighters.

Above all, Communists bring the vital elements of class and socialist consciousness into the labor movement. These are a firm base from which to repel the political and ideological weapons employed by the capitalist class to weaken or divide the working class. The Communists' outlook shows how to harmonize the immediate goals of the trade unions—improved wages and conditions—with the long-range goals of working-class political power and socialism.

## III. THE ENEMY: STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

The monstrous power of Big Business blocks the path of social progress. Over the years, Big Business has taken over or destroyed most of its small competitors. The resulting monopolies dominate every major industry.

The power of money, too, is tremendously concentrated in a narrow group of banks, insurance and investment houses. Concentrated shareholdings, interlocking directorates, an intense network of loans and other business relations link — in fact, merge — industrial, commercial and money capital into a single web of high finance — into finance capital.

The corporate executives of finance capital shuttle back and forth between corporate boardrooms and government posts, federal, state and local. Representatives of finance capital assume key government posts to use the state apparatus to serve their special profit-making interests. The powers of government deployed on behalf of Big Business are constantly expanding. They have become so essential to corporate capitalist rule that the system under which we live today may well be called *state monopoly capitalism.*

The corporate tentacles also reach into developing countries as well as developed capitalist lands. The biggest U.S.-based and -owned corporations are multinational in their operations. They seek to exploit the natural resources and low-wage labor of the developing countries and the skilled labor and large consumer

markets of the developed countries. This export of capital, production and technology to other countries aggravates U.S. unemployment and other economic ills.

**The Face of Imperialism**

To most people, "imperialism" conjures up an image of empire based on colonial possessions. That image is largely outdated. Modern imperialism is marked by the growth of monopolies and multinational corporations and the domination of finance capital. Imperialism today maintains a higher level of economic plunder abroad than ever, even when it lacks the old colonial trappings.

At the same time, many nations and peoples are still kept in outright colonial bondage; witness, for example, U.S. rule over Puerto Rico and other islands in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

Whether by classic or neo-colonial means, U.S. imperialism is the most powerful and ruthless extractor of huge profits from other countries and peoples in world history.

Within the United States, the largest monopolies and banks have transformed the government into their private political instrument. They seek an ever-tighter grip on government at all levels. They use this political power to guarantee favorable domestic markets, profitable investments, various kinds of subsidies, tax loopholes and the public underwriting of research for their benefit. They reorder government financing for their private enrichment and power. Like leeches, they suck profits from the industrial and urban centers of our land, pushing our cities to the brink of bankruptcy. Neighborhoods crushed under the weight of this exploitation are steadily deteriorating into huge slums.

Congress and state legislatures pass anti-labor laws

while assisting the enrichment of the monopolies. Courts enjoin strikes while eroding citizens' rights. The government structure and the corporate monopolies have become so intertwined that the state apparatus has become a decisive instrument for the transfer of an ever-greater proportion of socially-produced wealth from the working people to the monopolies. This, too, is state monopoly capitalism. It is, in fact, a welfare state for the super-rich.

### Military Industrial Complex

The most sinister component of state monopoly capitalism is the military industrial complex. This is the combination of military brass with financiers and corporate directors whose companies profit from the trade in weapons. The characters of this netherworld rotate between posts in the Pentagon, the Defense and State Departments and the armaments industries. They wangle lush contracts for the manufacture and sale of the latest death-dealing technology. They are the most ardent advocates of the nuclear arms race.

Incorporated in the military-industrial complex is a network of secret and semi-secret government agencies. These form an "invisible government" beyond the reach of the voters: the National Security Council, the CIA, the FBI, the Pentagon and select Congressional and White House committees whose schemes and activities are shielded from public scrutiny.

### The Fight for Peace

The drive for control of resources and profitable spheres of investment gives capitalism an inherently aggressive, warlike character. This presents the basic threat to world peace. The capitalist drive for world domination threatens nuclear disaster. Capitalism

spawns the arms race, squandering trillions of dollars.

The existence of nuclear arsenals of thousands of warheads, each equivalent to millions of tons of conventional explosives, creates a qualitatively new threat to humanity. The simple truth is that, once unleashed, a nuclear exchange would escalate inexorably into total war. Literally in a matter of minutes, civilization as we know it would be obliterated. Yet U.S. strategic planners still seek scenarios by which they could wage and win a nuclear war. This is the dangerous insanity of a dying class. U.S. Communists, like all genuine peace forces, urge that existing stockpiles of weapons be progressively eliminated by international agreement.

U.S. imperialism is not monolithic. Limited differences exist in its ranks, particularly over whether to pursue futile attempts to "win" the arms race or whether to accept detente. Detente—the relaxing of tensions—is based on the reality of approximate military parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. A serious strategy for winning the struggle for peace must take all such divisions within state-monopoly-capitalist ranks into account. In moments of crisis, they can tip the balance against disaster if used to timely advantage by pro-peace, anti-monopoly forces.

U.S. foreign policy is designed to secure areas of the globe for exploitation by the multinational corporations. Areas in which the multinationals can operate without hindrance—even if they are ruled by the bloodiest tyrannies—are considered part of the "Free World." U.S. imperialism views world socialism and the national liberation movements as the main obstacles to its drive for profits.

Only the corporate monopolies benefit from the policies and actions of U.S. imperialism. Wherever they gain a foothold, the multinationals strive to keep

wages below poverty levels, to deny health and safety measures, to forbid trade unions. Their huge profits escape virtually untaxed. The companies then seek to "import" these conditions to the U.S.

Our people pay through the nose to finance the trillion-dollar military budgets that back up policies of imperialist aggression. While our cities crumble, the U.S. government finances missile bases, airfields and naval facilities all over the world.

Therefore, the struggle to curb U.S. imperialism is literally a struggle to save our nation and the world from catastrophe.

**Peaceful Coexistence**

The modern world is divided into two rival social systems—capitalism and socialism. From its birth in 1917, the Soviet state proclaimed the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the two systems. This policy follows from the nature of socialist society, which contains no vested economic interests which profit from preparations for or waging of war. On the contrary, its greatest need, like that of working people everywhere, is for a peaceful environment for constructive labor.

While imperialism has repeatedly unleashed war upon the world, socialism seeks to direct the contest between the two opposing systems into peaceful economic, ideological and political channels. Socialism consistently champions detente and the easing of international tensions.

Detente and disarmament will not, however, develop spontaneously. The working-class and peace movements must oppose each specific militarist adventure. Though the war lobby under capitalism is very powerful, it offers no realistic solutions to any contemporary problems. It is becoming increasingly

isolated. Detente and disarmament can be won.

U.S. imperialism seeks to camouflage its own aggressive behavior by shrilly denouncing a mythical "Soviet threat." This is the tactic of the "Big Lie" developed by Hitler. It provides a fig-leaf to cover the naked instigation of reactionary military coups, the propping up of reactionary regimes and the "destabilization" of democratic governments. Everywhere, U.S. imperialism seeks to obstruct and roll back the progress of other countries toward genuine national independence and socialism.

Imperialism has an international system of reactionary military and political alliances. To the international collaboration of forces of reaction, the Communist Party counterposes the principle of working-class internationalism—solidarity of working and oppressed peoples around the globe based on their fundamental identity of interests.

**World Transition to Socialism**

The hallmarks of our time are the emergence of socialism as a world system, the sweeping advance of the national liberation movements in formerly colonized countries and the upsurge of working-class and democratic movements in the capitalist lands.

Society is in the midst of an unprecedented transition. This world revolutionary process is propelled by objective laws. The struggles for national liberation and socialism are just and their victory is inevitable.

Socialism is a historic necessity which will ultimately prevail worldwide. But it can not be established from without; it can neither be exported nor imported. In each capitalist country, urgent class interests impel the working class and its allies to undertake the struggle for socialism.

With each passing day it becomes more obvious that

capitalism has outlived its usefulness. Modern production is a highly social venture requiring the cooperation of ever-greater numbers of workers, even across national boundaries. New developments in science and technology propel this trend. The confiscation of the fruits of the people's creative labor by corporate thieves is increasingly intolerable. Growing anti-corporate, anti-imperialist and socialist consciousness is the foundation for popular struggles in capitalist and developing countries. This historically new combination of popular forces possesses the power to deny imperialism its former ability to determine the course of world events.

**State Monopoly Capitalism—Foe of Democracy**

Real political power in our country, the control of executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, as well as the mass media, is in the hands of Big Business and its representatives. The concentration of wealth in the nation is paralleled by a concentration of political power. To run for high office it is usually necessary either to be a millionaire or to have millionaire backers.

Fearing even limited democracy, the monopolists who dominate the economy and politics of our nation seek in a thousand ways to choke off avenues of popular democratic expression.

While they pay lip service to democracy, they connive to block democratic access to the mass media and to the ballot. They seek to hamstring the right of labor to organize and strike. They savagely restrict the rights of the Afro-American people and other oppressed nationalities.

Ruling-class ideologues speak openly of the "ungovernability" of democracy, reflecting their basic contempt for it and their readiness to junk it and rule by

naked force if necessary.

The Communist Party has always fought to maintain and extend democracy so that the working class and the people might more effectively influence the nation's economic and political life.

Communists champion rights which go far beyond capitalist norms. These include the right to a job at a living wage, the right to decent housing, to high-quality public education, the right to free, comprehensive health care, to public mass transportation. Communists support the full equality of all races and nationalities and the equality of women in every aspect of economic, political and social life. Communists believe in the right of the people to be the owners of the nation's productive wealth.

While advocating these advanced democratic rights, Communists recognize the important distinction between fascism and capitalist democracy, and are the staunchest anti-fascist fighters. Sections of Big Business encourage and finance ultra-Right, fanatically racist and fascist movements. Fascism is a qualitatively different form of class rule under which the monopolies destroy democratic—including even bourgeois democratic—institutions and abolish fundamental rights. Fascist movements, such as the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, neo-nazis and others, are maintained as shock troops against the people and as a possible alternative to the present forms of class rule if the supremacy of the financial oligarchy is too strongly challenged.

The defeat of ultra-Right, neo-fascist forces is indispensable to social progress.

The KKK and neo-nazi groups advocate and practice terrorism and violence against people on the basis of their race, nationality or religion. The constitutional rights of the intended victims and democracy itself can best be safeguarded by outlawing such groups.

## IV. FOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY: END RACISM

Class exploitation is everywhere the essence of capitalism. U.S. capitalism wields a special weapon to wring superprofits from the working class: racism. Some 50 million of our people are oppressed, discriminated against, segregated and exploited on the basis of their race or nationality.

The U.S. ruling class considers this system of oppression both an instrument of added profits and a vital component of its political and ideological domination of the nation.

Racial oppression is bone and marrow of class exploitation. That is why defenders of the system of capitalist exploitation poison the bloodstream of our nation with ideas of "white supremacy." While directed mainly against the Afro-American people, racist ideas and practices oppress other peoples as well.

Because both racism and class oppression are inherent in capitalist exploitation, a special link exists between the two. This connection grows stronger as increasing numbers of Afro-Americans and other nationally oppressed workers enter the working class. Therefore, the struggle against racism and national oppression is inextricably intertwined with the class struggle. It is inseparable from other democratic struggles.

Racism is ugly, immoral and unjust by any yardstick. That is reason enough to fight it.

But it is also true—though many do not realize it—that most white Americans pay a price for racism.

Therefore the struggle against racism is vital to their interests:

Workers divided all receive lower wages.

The corporations are able to tighten the screw of exploitation an additional turn on white workers when they are permitted to tighten it two turns on Black workers.

People divided pay higher taxes and utility rates.

And a divided people are no match for an enemy—the monopoly capitalist class—that is united.

The struggle against racist ideas and practices, therefore, unites and advances the interests of all racial and national fractions of our working class. It concentrates the maximum strength of the people against the enormous power of monopoly capital.

The Communist Party supports passage of legislation making acts of racism subject to severe penalties.

**Afro-American Liberation**

The thirty million Afro-American people are a national minority subject to national, racial and class oppression. Capitalist rule has spun a web of restrictions depriving Afro-Americans and other oppressed nationalities of equal rights in the economic, political and other domains. The monopolies reap immense superprofits from the labor and ghettoization of the Afro-American working people.

Scientific and economic advances alone do not guarantee that there will be greater equality of Afro-Americans. On the contrary, without a struggle for the democratic distribution of the benefits of science, such advances can increase joblessness and otherwise aggravate national oppression.

The struggle for Afro-Americans' full political, economic and social equality lies at the heart of the striving for democracy, justice and social progress for all

working people in our country. Afro-Americans are an integral strand in the national fabric, and have made profound contributions to the economy, social life and culture of the American people from our nation's earliest days.

The national aspect of the oppression of the Afro-American people manifests itself in the fact that all social strata of Black people are subject to deprivation of basic rights and to the humiliation of racism.

The overwhelming majority of the Afro-American people are working-class. This class composition imparts important class content to the basically national character of the struggle. The working-class sector, made up of industrial workers in proportions greater than the general population, binds the national liberation cause of Black people to that of the working class as a whole.

Black workers play a dual role: one, as leaders of the Afro-American liberation struggle; two, in the struggle of the working class as a whole. This helps to cement the alliance of the national liberation and working-class causes. Historically, the most reliable, powerful and advanced ally of the working class has been the Afro-American people.

Affirmative action programs in work, housing, education and all other areas of life are essential to guarantee the achievement of real equality. Affirmative action includes special measures to improve housing, schools, hospitals, employment opportunities and other essentials in areas of Black majority. Such programs will also consolidate the unity and strength of the nation's working-class and anti-monopoly forces. Without significant gains in the fight for equality there can be no prospect of working-class or anti-monopoly victory.

Further, it is necessary to fight for the right of majority rule in all political districts with a Black majority. In

other areas, Black people should have at least proportional representation in government positions, elective and appointive. The achievement of full political representation requires elimination of gerrymandering. The inclusion of Afro-Americans in all levels of trade union leadership will speed the achievement of these democratic goals even as it advances the cause of militant class-struggle trade unionism.

The Communist Party, whose membership reflects the full racial and national diversity of our country, has always been a whole-hearted champion of the struggle for freedom of Afro-Americans and other specially oppressed people. Communists oppose all notions of "racial superiority." They work to unite working people of all nationalities.

**Chicano Liberation**

The special oppression of the Chicano people is rooted in the rise of U.S. imperialism.

These policies of chauvinism and discrimination have been nurtured by centuries of oppression of the Afro-American people, by genocide against Native American Indian peoples and by U.S. imperialist aggression against Mexico and other Central and South American countries. Immigrants from other Central American and Caribbean countries are also victims of racial and national oppression.

More than 80 per cent of Chicanos are workers in industry and agriculture. The Chicano people reside mainly in the urban centers of the West, Southwest and Midwest. In the West and Southwest Chicanos are the largest nationally oppressed group.

Chicanos are compelled to work at the hardest jobs in the mines, mills and other basic industries. Chicanos are also victimized by corporate landowners and agribusiness on farms, in vineyards and in food-

processing plants.

Chicanos are subjected to discriminatory treatment in hiring, wages, housing, education and in the exercise of political and social rights. Enforced poverty grips whole Chicano communities.

Chicanos are subjected to assaults upon personal and national dignity. Public authorities suppress the use of the Spanish language and other aspects of the national culture.

An important factor among the Chicano people is the continuing large immigration from Mexico.

A steady stream of Mexican peasants and workers flows into the U.S. in search of work. Company agents facilitate this influx, taking advantage of the workers' plight to impose low wages and intolerable conditions. Immigration officials and other government agents constantly harass the immigrants to intimidate them and suppress any organized resistance to shameful exploitation. Periodic "roundups" and arrests are carried out under the pretext of searching for "undocumented" workers.

The Chicano liberation movement is part of the overall struggle for democracy. It has close ties to the trade union movement, and is increasingly closely united with the struggle of "Hispanic" peoples in general and with the Afro-American liberation struggle.

Communists fight for economic, political and social equality for the Chicano people. This includes the freedom to develop the Chicano cultural and linguistic heritage. The Communist Party works for increased representation for Chicanos at all levels of the trade union movement, in public office and in community organizations.

## Puerto Rican Liberation

The United States has held Puerto Rico as a colony since seizing it in the Spanish-American War of 1898. The so-called commonwealth status imposed on the island subjects it to continued U.S. economic and political control. It is a sham designed to divert the popular movement for independence. The partial U.S. citizenship proclaimed for Puerto Ricans likewise leaves intact the bonds of imperialist subjugation of the island.

Puerto Rico has been transformed—against the will of its people—into a U.S. military-naval base in the Caribbean. Meanwhile, U.S. banks and corporate interests distort Puerto Rico's economic development, exploit its natural resources and extract superprofits from its low-paid workforce.

Within the U.S. proper, Puerto Ricans constitute a large oppressed national minority. Almost in their entirety, Puerto Ricans form part of the working class. Victimization by racial and national discrimination lowers Puerto Ricans' wages, debases working and living conditions and denies equality of job opportunity. Puerto Ricans in the U.S. have been largely denied political representation and deprived of full social rights.

The Communist Party demands and works for full economic, political and social equality for the Puerto Rican people in the U.S. It supports the demand for the use of the Spanish language in U.S. courts and other public institutions, in the trade unions and in collective bargaining agreements, and for bilingual education in public schools where there is a substantial Spanish-speaking population. It demands an end to colonial domination over Puerto Rico and supports the right of the people of that country to self-determination as to their future relationship to the United States,

including the right to separation.

The Communist Party demands the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Puerto Rico and the closing of naval bases there as a precondition for the free exercise of these rights, and declares its solidarity with the desire of the Puerto Rican people for national independence.

**Native American Indian Liberation**

The Native American Indian and Alaskan Native peoples and nationalities are fighting for their very survival against the power of state monopoly capitalism.

The threat to the survival of the Native peoples stems from the seizure of their lands. This robbery continues unabated. Powerful monopolies are expropriating Indian coal, oil and uranium resources; U.S. government agencies act as neo-colonial overlords; and the whole mechanism of state monopoly capitalism produces almost indescribable poverty, unemployment and denial of cultural and social rights.

The Native American Indian peoples have a glorious history of militant resistance to all encroachments on their lands and societies. That struggle continues today in the fight to retain and expand a land base, for sovereignty over the reservations and the rich resources on them, for the recognition of full treaty rights, for an end to forced sterilization of Indian women and other genocidal practices. The Native peoples seek to defend the use of their languages and cultures and the sanctity of religious sites and burial grounds. The Communist Party fully supports these demands.

The Party gives full support to struggles against all forms of inequality of Native American Indian people in hiring, upgrading and promotion, in housing, access to education and medical care. Communists sup-

port the right of Native American Indians to speak, read and study in their own languages.

Communists also support the right of Native American Indian peoples to take over industrial enterprises and natural resources on their land and place them under cooperative or other forms of people's control. Adequate government assistance should be provided to enable balanced economic development, providing both jobs and services, for the Indian peoples.

Communists work to remove all barriers to full electoral and representation rights for Native American Indian peoples.

The Native American Indian and Alaskan Native peoples' movements are directed against the monopolies. Full support by the working class, organized labor in the first place, is in the best interest of the working class and the vast majority of the people of the United States.

**Asian and Pacific Peoples' Liberation**

Peoples of many nations of Asia and the Pacific are among the millions who are subject to racist discrimination and mistreatment. They include immigrants—and their U.S.-born descendants—from the Philippines, Japan, China, Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, India and other countries. Racism and great-power chauvinism deprive these people of equal rights and opportunities, whatever their class or social status.

Employers extract superprofits from the labor of Asian workers by paying them sub-standard wages. They connive with immigration and other authorities to intimidate these workers to keep them from joining unions or exercising other rights. Despite this, workers of Asian and Pacific ancestry have a militant tradition of struggle, and have played a proud role in the labor

and progressive movements in the United States.

The Communist Party demands that Asian-Pacific peoples, historically victimized by national and racial prejudice in the U.S., be included in affirmative action programs to achieve real equality in all areas of life.

**The Jewish People**

The majority of Jews are workers and professionals whose interests lie with the working-class and anti-monopoly movements.

Jewish people are denied equal rights in many walks of life. Every year there are numerous instances of anti-Semitic abuse and desecration of synagogues. "Respectable" anti-Semitism is widespread in the attitudes and practices of the ruling class.

Anti-Semitic demagogy is a staple of reactionary and fascistic movements. It seeks to divert people's anger from the ruling class and the capitalist system toward the Jewish people.

The Communist Party condemns all manifestations of anti-Semitism and demands its legal prohibition, together with all acts and advocacy of racial, national and religious hatred.

**For Unity and Equality**

The people of our country are of numerous national origins and nationalities; many are discriminated against on the basis of race or color. Various ethnic groups are subject to denial of their progressive culture, history and traditions. The ruling class systematically pits each group against the others in order to more easily exploit them all.

But with all their rich variety and distinctiveness, the people of the United States are a single national family. Their lives and destinies are tightly interwo-

ven. At work and in recreation, they have everything to learn and gain from each other. They have nothing to gain from family quarrels. The multi-racial, multi-national working class of the United States is a single organic entity, bound together by ties of common labor and shared interests as strong as any family kinship.

The men and women who comprise the membership of the Communist Party, USA reflect the wonderful ethnic diversity of our country. And being based on the working class, the Party's aim is abolition of the capitalist system from which racial and national oppression arise.

The Communist Party works, therefore, to bring into one great coalition all peoples victimized by monopoly capital. It proposes to the people of our country a course of action that will break the grip of state monopoly capitalism upon their lives so that all may enjoy real freedom and equality.

# V. OTHER ALLIES AGAINST MONOPOLY

The tremendous power wielded by the combined resources of monopoly capital and the state can be effectively confronted and defeated only by a closely-knit coalition of those it exploits and victimizes. The strength of such a movement depends not only on numbers, but also on a capacity for determined mass action to win real gains at monopoly's expense.

The most important anti-monopoly force is the working class. Its decisive role in the economy, its organization and its history of struggle make it the force best-equipped to rally and lead the people to defeat monopoly domination. In its own immediate and long-range interests, the working class defends the special needs of all sections of the population who suffer from state monopoly domination.

### Women in the Battle Against Monopoly

Women are almost half of the labor force. However, while capitalism has drawn women more fully into social production, it has simultaneously accentuated their oppression.

For comparable work, women earn only 59 cents for every dollar men earn. Women are still largely excluded from numerous occupations, skills and classifications, especially the better-paid ones. Discrimination against women in training and promotion is rampant. Women workers are heavily concentrated in

unorganized industries and occupations; therefore nine of ten women workers lack union representation.

Women are also oppressed by lack of adequate child care facilities. They suffer a higher than average rate of unemployment. Women and children are the special victims of poverty and the welfare system.

In all these regards, women of the oppressed nationalities suffer with special severity.

The extra oppression and exploitation of women workers tends to depress the conditions of male workers as well, and is of benefit only to the corporate employers.

The scarcity of women in elective office testifies to the continuing political discrimination against women.

Women continue to carry the greater burden of housework and child care.

The pervasive use of women as sexual lures in advertising and the widespread distribution of pornography reflect and encourage the social and sexual abuse of women.

But women are also effective participants and leaders in all the people's movements: the trade unions, political action groups, peace groups, the parents' movement. Special women's organizations, including those of trade union and nationally oppressed women, also play an important role.

The Communist Party is dedicated to the complete emancipation of women. This will require a tenacious struggle on all fronts—economic, political and ideological, including elimination of the backward concepts and habits of male supremacy.

The Communist Party calls for:

—equality of women in work and in pay, to be achieved by affirmative action programs and such special provisions as paid maternity leaves;

—a massive drive to bring the bulk of presently-

unorganized women workers into the trade unions;

—a nationwide network of publicly-funded and democratically-controlled child care centers;

—the unequivocal right of women to plan their reproductive lives, which is a special target of the ultra-Right;

—greatly expanded representation of women in public office and in the leadership of trade unions and other people's organizations.

**Youth—A Vital Force for Progress**

State monopoly capitalism can not provide a secure, happy future for the youth.

Young people need jobs, while capitalism generates unemployment. Young people seek guiding values which affirm life, while decaying capitalism promotes a cult of drugs, violence and cynical individualism. For the monopolies, public education, low-cost housing, recreation and culture are "fat" to be trimmed from the public budget. Young people deeply desire peace, while state monopoly capitalism strives to incorporate them into its war machine. It views youth as expendable—as cannon fodder.

In all these regards, the heaviest burden of the crisis of capitalism falls on Black and other nationally oppressed youth.

Today, half or more of the workers in many industries are young. Young workers often have special problems of job security, training, promotion, the establishment of a home and family. A large number of young workers lack union protection and are subjected to fast-paced labor for pay at—or even below—the minimum wage. Within the labor movement, youth are a factor tending toward more militant, class-struggle policies.

Unemployment, which reaches phenomenal rates

among nationally oppressed youth, is the most serious youth problem. The unemployed, whom capitalism regards as "superfluous population," are brutally repressed.

With modern scientific-technological advances, the need for education and the number of students continue to grow. An increasing proportion of students are from working-class families or will themselves become wage workers. However, neither the availability nor the quality of education nearly measure up to the need. Students participate not only in the struggle against monopoly domination of education, for their specific needs as students, but also spark popular struggles against war and racism.

Young people are subject to a common oppression by state monopoly capitalism and they are, therefore, a special force capable of uniting in a broad people's coalition against it. Young workers have a special role in cementing and leading the youth alliance.

Young people, whose life experience begins with the present historical period, are often profoundly influenced by the changing world balance of forces, with its dramatic revolutionary promise. Youth display vitality, initiative, daring and idealism. For all these reasons, the youth movement plays an exceptional role in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Party calls for:

—no compulsory military service;

—massive job creation and job training for unemployed youth; unemployment compensation for first-time job seekers;

—a sharply-increased minimum wage, with no exemptions for any category of employment;

—free, quality public education for all, with stipends for students beyond the high school level;

—an end to Big Business' grasp on our schools; input from students and faculty and democratic public con-

trol of schools.

The Communist Party maintains fraternal links with the Young Workers Liberation League, an advanced organization which spearheads the struggle for youth's everyday needs—the right to "earn, learn and live"—and for the socialist future of the youth.

**Intellectuals and Professionals**

Intellectuals are a growing stratum of society. They are increasingly linked with the working-class and progressive forces. Scientific development and the concentration of capital tend to deprive them of economically independent status and transform them into wage workers, into segments of the working class. This process is evident among scientists, teachers, writers, medical workers and technicians, cultural, mass media and communications workers. They increasingly strive for organization and adopt working-class methods of struggle.

They too are victims of monopoly exploitation. They are hard hit by inflation, escalating taxes, insecure employment and income.

Additionally, intellectuals see their labor perverted to serve the reactionary ends of monopoly capital. The military-industrial complex seeks to use science to increase its powers of annihilation. Large numbers of intellectuals are active in the struggle against U.S. policies of confrontation, against the danger of a nuclear war.

Decaying bourgeois ideology increasingly attacks science itself—not only Marxist social science, but all products of reason—and turns to mysticism and irrationality. Some intellectuals are used to develop and spread capitalism's reactionary ideologies.

Every honest intellectual must resist this assault. Progressive intellectuals are called upon to combat

reaction's misuse of the mass media, education, literature and the arts.

Intellectuals play a progressive role to the extent that they join with the working class in combatting the power of monopoly capital.

### Seniors and Retired Workers

Older workers are discarded by the monopoly corporations after every cent of profit has been wrung from them during a lifetime of labor, and they are often cheated of their just pensions. Millions of seniors and retired workers have joined together in a network of organizations to fight for their right to retirement in dignity and reasonable security, including an adequate income, quality health care and decent housing.

Though most retirees are forced to live in poverty, they are rich in experience in the class struggle. They are valuable allies in the struggle against monopoly capital. Retirees form a potent voting bloc fighting not only for their own needs but for those of all working people.

Communists strive to win a guarantee of a financially secure old age for all workers, principally through the strengthening of the Social Security System, as a high priority.

### Small Business and Farmers

Small business is a term covering disparate kinds of companies, from family-operated farms and corner groceries to sizable enterprises employing scores of workers. Their position is a contradictory one. On the one hand, they defend the conditions of capitalist production, under which monopolies inevitably dominate. On the other hand, their struggle for existence often pits them against the monopolies' plunder and

domination of the rest of society. They tend to vacillate between the two basic classes.

It is preferable for the working class that the problems of small business be solved—to the extent that they are capable of solution—at the expense of monopoly and not at the expense of the workers. On questions of taxation, militarism and other matters, the interests of small business and the working class largely coincide. On this basis, small business participates in a broad anti-monopoly coalition.

Farmers are in especially deep crisis. Income and debt are at disastrous levels for many farmers. Family farmers' demands for parity prices, secure markets and other forms of assistance deserve the support of organized labor and consumers. Guarantees of land tenure for farmers is important to all the people, since speculators often purchase farm land in order to divert it to other uses. This undermines the agricultural base of the nation.

With the growth of corporate farming, agricultural workers have become an important force for progress on the farms. Communists call on all working-class and progressive forces to give full support to their efforts to organize and improve conditions.

## VI. FOR AN ANTI-MONOPOLY ALLIANCE, FOR A PEOPLE'S PARTY

There is a steady deterioration of the overall quality of life in our country. High inflation has become a built-in feature of capitalism. It puts tremendous pressure on real wages, which decline over long periods. The cities are in advanced stages of decay. Blatant corporate robbery through tax loopholes, cost overruns, deregulation and other swindles have become commonplace. Slums grow while housing construction lags.

This reality cries out for the majority of the people to unite against the exploiting minority.

The prospects for effecting a permanent shift against the monopolies in the class balance of forces grow to the extent that all anti-monopoly groups and organizations strengthen their mutual support and engage in united struggle to curb the state-monopoly power.

Such a coalition could influence even non-monopoly sections of the capitalist class. Those whose interests coincide with the interests of the people on certain questions may support—or at least not oppose—some efforts of the anti-monopoly coalition.

A popular movement of this kind might not at first challenge capitalism as a system, but it could win concessions and substantially weaken and limit monopoly power in important areas of political and economic life.

## For Radical Reforms

The monopolies generally yield to the people only such concessions as leave the power of monopoly capital essentially intact. Every ruling class, when compelled to grant reforms, presents them as tokens of its own generosity and reasonableness. Each new reform is used to claim that the existing order is flexible and eternal. State monopoly capitalism does everything to contain the struggle for reform within channels which minimize mass participation and militancy.

The anti-monopoly coalition and its political party, therefore, will have to involve millions of people in the fight for radical reforms that will make inroads into the power of the monopolies. Some of its demands may be won in the process of contesting for political power and others will be enacted by elected representatives committed to curbing the monopolies.

The great lesson of the fight for major change in our history is that victory requires mass participation and militancy. The struggle for the abolition of slavery included the systematic defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law as well as slave revolts. The right of labor to organize was won by strikes and demonstrations that employer and government opposition often turned into bitter battles. The fight for women's suffrage required civil disobedience, militant demonstrations and mass petitions.

More recent experiences in the struggle for civil rights and to end the Vietnam War proved again the need for mass actions in the streets and workshops as well as at the polls.

But no struggle is ended when a given reform is won. The people must vigilantly pursue its implementation and view it as a base from which further gains can be wrested from the monopolies.

## An Anti-Monopoly Program

A program of radical reforms would include, but not necessarily be limited to, the following:

**1.** Negotiate comprehensive arms limitations and reductions. Drastically slash the bloated military budget and apply the savings to constructive public use, such as providing employment and training; guaranteeing affirmative action with firm quotas and timetables so as to overcome past discrimination and rapidly achieve full equality; building low-rent, quality housing; vast improvements in mass public transportation and public services.

**2.** Close all tax loopholes for the rich and end public subsidies to the monopolies; tax corporate profits heavily; end all giveaways of natural resources to the monopolies and reclaim past grants wherever possible.

**3.** Strengthen labor's right to organize, to enforce contracts and to strike. Curb "management prerogatives" on such questions as plant closings, automation, job safety, environmental protection, product quality and similar questions which vitally affect the lives of workers and the whole people.

**4.** Nationalize the energy monopolies so as to provide adequate energy supplies at the lowest possible cost. Build modern power plants providing conditions of maximum safety.

**5.** Public ownership of the hospitals, drug and medical companies. Provide free, quality, comprehensive health care for all.

**6.** Abolish the CIA and the FBI; enact measures to prohibit racist or political repression of the people's movements.

**7.** Enact and enforce measures to protect the exercise of full economic, political and social equality for all races and nationalities and for women.

**8.** Extend aid to family-type farms through grants,

long-term government loans and guarantees of parity prices for products. Make similar credits and loans available to other small producers and service enterprises.

**9.** Rescue our cities from the grasp of the banks and wealthy bondholders and provide funds to improve the quality of urban and rural life.

**10.** Remove unequal barriers to foreign trade and promote interchange with other nations on terms of mutual benefit.

**11.** Enact a National Youth Act guaranteeing the right of youth to earn, learn and live a full life.

Through these and similar measures, the power and well-being of the working class and the people would be increased and that of monopoly capital reduced, subject to the considerable limitations imposed by the continued existence of capitalism.

### The Corporate Two-Party System

The present two-party system is a vise within which the state-monopoly power seeks to confine class conflicts and social pressures, thus ensuring its own rule. The two major parties are alliances of conflicting corporate sectional and economic interests, strung together by electoral expediency. But this very hodgepodge, offered as evidence of "democracy," leaves the centralized power of the monopolies and their state unchallenged.

As the corruption and demagogy of the bourgeois politicians become obvious to millions, disillusionment with bourgeois politics increases. This is shown in part by the large numbers of people who refuse to vote. Increasing numbers, however, work for anti-monopoly, independent alternatives.

Monopoly's answer to this process is not democrati-

zation or a loosened grip on the old parties. Rather, it turns increasingly to ultra-Right political formations and anti-labor and racist candidates.

The monopolies also encourage and finance diversionary "single-issue" movements that seek to turn back even the most limited gains won by the people. This is the role of the "New Right," which pretends to identify itself with grievances of the people in order to divert popular movements into reactionary channels.

**Labor's Political Independence—Key Step**

As long as they are bound to Big Business' political chariot, the people can not win any fundamental victories. Political independence, based on the action of the labor movement in the first place, is a prerequisite.

The monopolies have long understood labor's potential as the core of an anti-monopoly electoral coalition. Big Business uses every possible method to keep labor from building its own political and electoral organizations. The gravest injury of "class partnership" policies is the imprisonment of the labor movement within the confines of the two monopoly-controlled political parties.

The ruling class strives to limit political change to alternation between the Republican and Democratic Parties, both of which they firmly control. No matter what reforms the people may extract by continuous struggle, neither of these boss-owned parties will upset the dominance of monopoly capital.

More and more, workers confront what is virtually an interlocking directorate of the monopolies and the state. The state organs intervene on behalf of the monopolies to dictate the terms of collective bargaining settlements and to break strikes.

More and more, everyday economic issues merge with broad political questions—unemployment, infla-

tion, safety and health, mass transit, energy, plant shutdowns, peace and the military budget. This adds to the urgency of taking a class approach to the solution of political questions.

Not even the most diehard class-collaborationist would dare propose that a steel corporation executive should be elected to head the steelworkers' union. But without an independent political vehicle, workers are compelled to vote for candidates and parties controlled by corporate executives.

The historic challenge that faces labor, therefore, is to develop its political independence and become the leading force in a broad, people's anti-monopoly party.

The Communist Party works energetically for the success of the broadest possible anti-monopoly coalition. It works to strengthen alliances of working-class and progressive forces in the shops, the communities and in people's organizations. This grassroots base is indispensable to a people's political party.

The Communist Party has long advocated an independent, anti-monopoly political party led by labor, committed to a program of radical reforms. Such a party could win satisfaction of many immediate and longer-range needs.

However, the understanding of the common enemy necessary for such a development does not occur spontaneously. The Communist Party works to increase the consciousness of masses of people about the state-monopoly foe and the requirements for victory.

The Party strives to ensure that the working class, especially its organized sector, is recognized as the force which unites and heads the anti-monopoly coalition. At the same time, the Party cultivates among more and more workers the highest level of working-class consciousness.

The Communist Party advances these aims through its own candidates for public office and by support for

all candidates and legislative measures which serve the interests of labor and the people. It seeks the establishment of a popular-democratic government devoted to freeing the working class and the people from state-monopoly control. The contributions of the Communist Party are vital to the development of the anti-monopoly movement, and a stronger Communist Party is in the interest of all anti-monopoly forces.

**Uprooting Monopoly Power**

The strategic perspective of the Communist Party is based on the inevitability of sharpening conflict between the interests of the people and those of the capitalist monopolies. State monopoly capitalism is running the U.S. economy into the ground. And while capitalism decays, the rate of exploitation increases. As a result, the class struggle sharpens, economic and social issues come into sharper focus. The longer contradictions remain unresolved, the more acute they become. They compel the building of a firm anti-monopoly alliance whose electoral arm is the people's party, led by labor.

Day-to-day struggles are a school for the fight to take complete political power. One can not oppose or stand aloof from the struggle for vital immediate needs on the one hand and be for social revolution on the other. Conditions which deteriorate without counteracting struggle give rise not to revolutionary fervor but to demoralization and tendencies to succumb to fascist demagogy.

Thus, the anti-monopoly struggle for people's power is more than an answer to immediate problems. It is a historic necessity for survival, for the satisfaction of the people's needs and extension of their rights. It is both a preparation for and a component of the struggle for socialism.

The anti-monopoly struggle for radical and structural reforms does not supplant the struggle for socialism. However, there is an important relation between them. Carried to its logical conclusion, the anti-monopoly struggle leads to the threshold of socialism.

The Communist Party participates in the anti-monopoly political alignment and would serve, along with others, at the people's will, in an anti-monopoly government brought to power by the victories of this coalition.

We Communists, motivated by the basic human needs of our class and our people, fight every day against the evils of capitalism. The fate of our class and our people is our prime concern. We are convinced that socialism, and beyond it communism, offer the only fundamental and lasting solution to the problems of exploitation and oppression. The struggle for revolutionary change is the logical continuation of the struggle for a better life.

The electoral victory of a people's anti-monopoly party most likely would not produce a drawn-out period of equilibrium between an anti-monopoly administration and a capitalist economy in which the monopolies retained positions of strength. In the course of a many-sided struggle, which would necessarily involve millions of people against the monopolies, it would become apparent to the majority of the working class and most of its allies that they were dealing with an organic crisis of an outdated social system which is exploitative, oppressive, corrupt, racist, dehumanizing and irrational. It would become clear that fighting to restrain monopoly is not enough. Capitalism itself must go.

The decisive steps in ushering capitalism to its historical exit will be both political and economic. On the one hand, it will require the extension of popular

power to all branches and levels of government, making the working class, with its allies, the dominant force in society. On the other hand, the people will have to take control of the commanding heights of the economy, first of all by bringing into the public domain the property of the big industrial, energy, mining, transportation, banking, insurance, agribusiness and wholesaling corporations.

Such a development would open the way for the next stage of human progress — socialism.

# VII. NEEDED: FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE

Increasingly, the basic needs and interests of the vast majority of our people demand a fundamental change in our economic and social system, in which both wealth and political power are monopolized by a privileged group of industrialists and bankers.

For the rest of us there is constant insecurity, preparation for war, ever-rising prices and soaring rents, unjust taxation, persistent mass unemployment, degradation of culture and public education, the fanning of racism, victimization by crime and corruption in governing circles. The quality of life undergoes steady deterioration.

Capitalism has been in an ever-deepening crisis for most of this century. Millions of people throughout the world have come to recognize that capitalism is not an everlasting system.

### The Revolutionary Transition to Socialism

The Soviet Union (USSR) was the first to abolish capitalist relations of production and to develop a fuller and happier life for its people.

In Europe, Asia, Africa and in the Caribbean, other nations have since taken up the building of socialist society as the solution to their problems. In this same period, over two billion victims of colonialism have broken out of imperialist bondage and established independent states. Many of these countries have also

chosen the socialist road.

The consolidation on a world scale of the new social system, socialism, with its growing satisfaction of human needs and establishment of humane relations, reveals how outmoded and bankrupt capitalism is.

Existing socialism demonstrates that capitalists, stockholders, landlords and banker loan-sharks are parasitic and nonproductive. It proves that the working people can manage production and public affairs for the common good.

The United States is well-equipped for the adoption of this modern, progressive social system.

Our country, with its abundant resources, highly developed productive capacity and concentrated economic structure, is objectively ready for planned social production for the well-being of all.

Our workers, the nation's largest class, have long experience in collective labor in large-scale enterprises.

To advance to the construction of a socialist society in the U.S. requires that the working people take over the reins of government and assume power. The anti-monopoly alliance, in the course of fighting for its democratic aims, will be brought face to face with the fundamental question: Either it curbs and destroys monopoly power or monopoly will destroy people's power. Such is the inner logic, the dynamics of the class struggle.

But destruction of monopoly power can not mean turning back the clock to pre-monopoly capitalism. At the modern level of economic and technological development, socialism is the next rung on the ladder of social progress.

When a decisive majority recognizes that it is necessary to do away with capitalism, the struggle is no longer limited to anti-monopoly reforms, however radical. There follows the struggle to end the power of

private monopolies and to establish public ownership of the nation's basic productive plant under the political leadership of the working class.

**A Profoundly Democratic Event**

The circumstances under which such a turning point will be reached can not now be predicted, nor can the precise nature of the revolutionary conflict that will then take place. Revolution, as our Declaration of Independence affirms, is the most fundamental of democratic rights because it involves the people themselves exercising their sovereign authority.

Social revolution is the replacement of one class in power by another, of one social system by another. It basically changes economic, political and social relationships.

So profound a transformation can not be made by a coup or a conspiracy. A coup is an attempt to bring about change by manipulation at the top by a small minority. Socialist revolution depends upon mass participation and majority support. This provides a firm foundation for democratic rule by the producing majority in all aspects of national life.

The entire history of the United States demonstrates it is naive to think that monopoly capital would be restrained by constitutional scruples from resorting to violence to stop even the most democratic majority mandate for a socialist solution. No ruling class has ever voluntarily relinquished its power.

Whether the democratic will of the people can be fulfilled by relatively peaceful means or whether the ruling class will be able to inflict violence upon the country can be answered precisely only in terms of the total political situation prevailing at the time of such a transition.

The best guarantee for averting violence is the crea-

tion of a people's majority. If this majority is sufficiently overwhelming, firm of purpose and united in command of decisive sectors of power, it will be able to restrain and minimize monopoly's capacity to use force. Such may be the case when the revolutionary situation matures, when the ruling monopolies can no longer rule effectively in the old way and the majority of the people are no longer willing to tolerate the old order.

In short, the possibility of averting counter-revolutionary violence hinges on the success of struggles for radical reforms which weaken or remove monopoly's grip on political and economic power.

The Communist Party works unceasingly to strengthen the leading role of the working class and to weld its firm unity with its allies in order to create the most favorable relationship of forces against the monopolies and make possible a peaceful transition to socialism.

The Communist Party will continue to seek the most peaceful path possible.

**Socialism, USA**

A socialist government would transfer to public ownership the privately-owned large-scale means of production—utilities and transport, banks, factories, agribusiness and natural resources. This would not include personal property serving personal needs, such as homes and cars.

Family farmers would be assured land tenure. Voluntary formation of efficient, large-scale co-operative farms would be encouraged and assisted. Huge corporate farms would be taken over and operated by the state on modern industrial lines.

Small businesses and shopkeepers would be assisted, without the burden of high taxes and oppres-

sion by the monopolies.

For the first time, the talents and skills of professionals and intellectuals would be utilized to their full potential for the good of society. This would be made possible by expansion of schools, hospitals, laboratories, research facilities, publishing houses, mass communications media, theaters, museums and all other public institutions which enrich the physical and spiritual life of our people.

In a socialist society all people able to work would be guaranteed a job of their choice. It would no longer be permissible to exploit and to profit from the labor of others. Equal pay for equal work would become the rule. Early retirement would be possible at a completely adequate income.

Under socialism, the products of social labor would not be diverted for private profit. The profits of publicly-owned enterprises would constitute the basis for a social fund which the socialist government and people's organizations would allocate for public services, for expanding production and for new technology, modernization and automation.

This fund would provide facilities—including child care centers—to ease household burdens; it would provide for retired, handicapped and disabled people. The fund would subsidize construction and maintenance of schools, hospitals, low-rent housing and recreational facilities, free and complete medical and dental care, public mass transportation, free public education up to and including higher education, and other social measures.

**Basic Democratic Rights and Freedoms**

The building of socialism would lead to the abolition of classes once and for all and to the establishment of wide political and economic rights. Only the "right" of

a minority to exploit and dominate the majority would be infringed. Just as the "right" of the slaveowners to "their" property was abolished in order to establish the freedom of the slaves, the "right" of capitalist exploitation would be ended.

The rights of the people would be protected and expanded.

Every citizen 18 years of age and over would enjoy the right to vote and to be elected to public office.

The people would become the managers of society through elected government bodies, as well as through trade unions, on-the-job committees and cooperatives, farm, professional and community organizations. The constitutional right of the people to recall and replace their elected representatives would be established.

All institutions which had repressed the people's democratic rights or strivings would be abolished.

Socialist society would prohibit exploitation of labor in any form, put an end to all attempts to restore racism or discrimination against women.

Under a socialist government, the individual liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights would be retained and expanded.

Fundamental civil rights, individual freedoms and family life would be protected by the socialist state. Separation of church and state would be maintained and the right to religious beliefs and practices would be recognized and protected.

Freedom of speech, press, assembly and association would be assured by the constitution. The exercise of these basic freedoms would be guaranteed and expanded by the public ownership of the mass media under democratic control.

A socialist government would prohibit discrimination in any form and outlaw the dissemination of racism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, religious or national

hatred and incitement to war or violence.

The socialist government would take affirmative action to overcome the consequences of generations of discriminatory treatment and guarantee equal opportunities and conditions for the Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American Indian and other peoples specially oppressed under capitalism.

Special measures would be taken to assure rights to distinctive languages and cultures.

Special measures would be taken to insure the equality of women in all walks of life.

A socialist government of the United States would seek agreements with all nations for mutual total disarmament—to banish war forever, freeing trillions of dollars for constructive purposes.

Agreements would be reached with developing countries to assist their rapid rise to equality with the industrial nations.

The foreign policy of a socialist USA would aim to secure peace, equality and mutually advantageous relations with all peoples of the world.

These are among the great benefits of the new social order—socialism.

**Communism, USA**

From its inception, socialism would reward people for their labor, in accordance with their contribution to society. At the same time, the principle would be introduced of the full satisfaction of people's needs. The application of this principle would be steadily expanded as enabled by growing material abundance.

Socialism would open the path to a society of abundance for all, applying the principle: "From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs." This higher stage of development of socialism is communism. Under communism:

Socially useful labor will become an enjoyable part of life.

The last remnants of social distinctions based on class, race, nationality or sex will be eradicated.

Abundance and a high level of social awareness will prevail and therefore there will be no need for any form of coercion by the state.

With communism, humankind will enter the era of freedom from the whims of nature. Control of the environment will reach unprecedented levels, and will be exercised to achieve harmony with nature and to preserve and enhance its potential for future generations.

Individuals will consciously and voluntarily strive to benefit society as a whole. Society will foster the maximum realization of the potential of each individual. Human beings will become truly free at last.

Such are the advances which socialism and communism will usher in for our people and land.

## History's Greatest Revolutionary Transition

Today's revolutionary tide extends to all continents, to the most remote regions.

Revolutions in previous eras swept away absolute monarchies, feudalism and colonialism in many areas of the globe. But in doing so, they exchanged one exploitative ruling class for another.

Socialist revolution puts an end to all forms of class exploitation. Today's socialist revolutions mark humanity's historic transition—worldwide—from capitalism and imperialism to socialism.

The transition from slavery to feudalism to capitalism spanned many centuries. The hallmark of our age is the swiftness of revolutionary transition and of socialist construction.

The economic, political and military balance of

forces in the world is not mechanical or static. The march of progress is clear, but it is inevitably marked by some ebbs and flows. Disunity and weaknesses among the revolutionary forces, errors or miscalculations can—and at times do—lead to some setbacks.

But the overall course of social change is forward. It takes place in a historical situation in which the forces opposing imperialism, led by the working people exercising state power in socialist and socialist-oriented countries, allied with national liberation movements and the working-class and anti-monopoly forces in the capitalist countries, exert decisive influence on the course of history.

This paramount fact places its indelible stamp on our time. The old colonial empires have been dumped on the scrap heap of history. Almost all of the previously colonized nations and peoples are successfully traveling the path of independence. More than a billion human beings have already embarked upon the socialist transformation of their countries.

It is important to note that while the basically aggressive nature of imperialism is unalterable, circumstances can force it to modify its course of action. Even as powerful a force as U.S. imperialism has been increasingly forced to retreat before the united strength of the anti-imperialist forces.

Socialist countries are characterized by steady economic growth and the development of science, technology, education and culture. The socialist community's development and closer unity are great contributions to the freedom of all peoples.

The newly liberated lands have great pride in their sovereignty and are firmly resolved to overcome low levels of economic and social development and other legacies of imperialist domination.

National liberation revolutions aim to destroy imperialist domination, feudal bondage and political

tyranny. For these goals a broad national unity may be forged, including workers, peasants, intellectuals, middle classes, sections of the armed forces and even some capitalists whose development is hampered by foreign monopolies.

These struggles are not necessarily for socialism, but are closely linked to it. Imperialism is their common enemy. The socialist world supports national liberation struggles economically, diplomatically and militarily and by revolutionary example. This is the opposite of imperialist behavior.

Therefore, peoples subjected to neo-colonialism more and more work to bypass capitalist development and move onto a socialist path.

The balance of strength between the three revolutionary currents—socialism, national liberation and the working class of the capitalist countries—on the one hand, and the declining forces of capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, on the other hand, has shifted irrevocably in favor of revolutionary change.

# VIII. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

A socialist revolution never breaks out simply because the objective conditions for it have ripened. Profound revolutionary transformation equally requires the development of subjective preconditions—the consciousness and organization of the working class and its allies. A revolutionary working-class party is necessary to help bring it about.

The organized efforts of the people's mass organizations and the trade unions are necessary, but are limited, for the most part, to the struggle against specific injustices. These organizations embrace all who struggle on day-to-day issues, even if they do not seek more fundamental changes. In this sense, they do not basically challenge the capitalist system.

The members of the Communist Party are men and women who are devoted to the struggle for social progress, including the winning of socialism. The organizational principles of the Communist Party make it an effective instrument for the realization of this lofty goal. The Communist Party's strategic outlook and ideology permit it to focus scattered struggles and connect them with the historic goal of liberation from capitalism. This is the revolutionary party of our country.

## Founding of the CPUSA

The Communist Party, USA, was founded in Chicago in 1919. The founders of the Communist Party

were activists of the revolutionary currents within the old Socialist Party, militants in the American Federation of Labor, the best elements of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). They were militant, revolutionary workers, farmers, professionals and intellectuals of all races and nationalities. The birth of the Communist Party was a working-class response to the exploitation and oppression of monopoly capitalism and to the savagery of world war, into which imperialism plunged the world. These resulted in a process of radicalization and a sharpening of class battles.

The founders of the Communist Party welcomed and were inspired by the worldwide revolutionary upsurge of that period and by the first successful establishment of working-class power by the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia.

**What the Party Stands For**

The Communist Party, USA, carries forward the revolutionary traditions of our War of Independence and the fight for the Bill of Rights.

It advances the struggle so courageously begun by the Abolitionists and the early Marxists who fought the slavocracy in the Civil War. It continues to build upon the democratic heritage of historic battles for trade unions, free public education, civil rights, civil liberties and women's equality.

The Communist Party firmly opposes all imperialist interference in the lives of other peoples and combats imperialist war, especially mindful of its duty to halt any such aggression by the ruling class of our own country.

The Communist Party works for the banning of all nuclear weapons and for total disarmament. It acts to strengthen the solidarity of working people and of anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. It advo-

cates peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

As a revolutionary party of the working class, the Communist Party stands unequivocably for peace, jobs, equality, democracy and socialism. This program spells out how we see these goals being realized.

Not all those who style themselves "socialist" necessarily advance the cause of socialism.

Many pseudo-Left groups hide behind super-radical cliches, resort to provocative tactics and spurn popular unity and the struggle for reforms. They often misuse and discredit the name "Communist" in a way which divides the people's forces and strengthens reaction.

Communists work for common, constructive aims with honest workers and progressive-minded people who may have been misled, in their search for radical change, into following pseudo-Left groups or organizations.

There are organizations which, under the label of "social democracy," combat existing socialism and the Communist movement. They urge working people to adopt policies of collaboration with, instead of struggle against, their exploiters. They resort to red-baiting while supporting imperialist intrigues and aggression. They opportunistically hold out the false promise of a reformed capitalism in place of radical change.

There are, however, Leftward-moving currents of social democrats who oppose these Right-wing policies and seek cooperation with others for far-reaching changes.

Communists work for united action wherever possible with such groupings, as well as with non-socialist progressives, for the needs of the working people, against nuclear war, against racism and for many other mutual interests.

Communists work to strengthen a militant united front against monopoly despite inevitable ideological

differences of the various groups in such a front.

**Party Theory and Organization**

The program of the CPUSA is based on objective laws which govern the development of society in general, and the transition from capitalism to socialism in particular. This body of knowledge of social development is called scientific socialism or Marxism-Leninism. Like every science, it is being constantly enriched by practical experience and theoretical study. It has already enabled Communist Parties to successfully lead hundreds of millions of working people to abolish capitalist rule and begin the construction of socialism in a great part of the world.

The basic organizations of the Communist Party are the clubs, to which all members belong. The clubs are the main avenue for the participation of members in Party life. They provide ongoing political education and guidance in everyday struggles for members of the Party.

The Communist Party operates on the principles of democratic centralism. It is built on voluntarily-assumed commitments of its members and democratic procedures. Communists elect their leadership and democratically determine the policies of the Party. Once policies are arrived at, members give them united support. The elected leadership exercises central direction of the Party. A Marxist-Leninist party employs collective methods of work, utilizing the knowledge and experience of the entire membership.

## IX. OUR SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK

This program is an expression and an application of a world outlook, of an ideology.

Our world outlook is scientific socialism. Its pioneers in the nineteenth century were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Its foremost exponent and developer in the twentieth century was V.I. Lenin. Scientific socialism is frequently called Marxism or Marxism-Leninism, after the leading founders and practitioners of this new science. Like any true science, it begins with study of the world as it actually is. It rests on two major philosophical foundations:

1. Human society, like the natural world of which it is a part, is capable of scientific explanation. Its development is governed by laws that can be scientifically ascertained, that is, derived from and tested by human experience and analysis.

2. Study of the world as it actually is must include the world in the process of change, for change is its most durable feature. At times change proceeds almost imperceptibly, at other times by revolutionary leaps. But to regard the world as static is to distort reality. For us, the real question is not whether society will change, but what laws govern that change and what forces compel it. To the extent we find scientific answers to these questions, we can, through conscious effort, facilitate the change and minimize the hardships it might entail.

In sum, our outlook is materialist, rejecting any ideas of the supernatural. Our method is dialectical, recog-

nizing change as fundamental and rejecting all static, frozen concepts of reality.

Our outlook clashes with others that view history as a jumble of accidents, a haphazard series of exploits by great men, the unfathomable clash of human wills, the expression of innate instincts, the mechanical reflection of biological laws, the whim of supernatural forces, or the predestined unfolding of some design.

This clash is not an abstract philosophical dispute. If social conditions and developments are the product of forces beyond rational understanding or influence, it follows we can do nothing about them, that wisdom lies in resigning ourselves to things as they are. Clearly, such an outlook serves those with vested interests in the status quo. It serves the capitalist class.

If, on the other hand, society is governed by scientifically discoverable laws, it follows that discovery of those laws endows us with great possibilities of achieving mastery over social conditions. Clearly, this outlook accords with the interests of those who are not favored by the status quo, who are not led by privileged positions in contemporary society to obscure its realities, or to represent it as the end point of social development rather than a passing stage on the journey of human progress. It accords with the interest of the working class.

Marxism-Leninism is, therefore, the science of society and its development. It is revolutionary because it recognizes that the struggles of today foreshadow fundamental social change. And it is revolutionary because it demonstrates that the climactic point of that change, the replacement of one social system by another, is a revolutionary act, as the building of a socialist society is a revolutionary process.

Many are impelled by their own grievances or by indignation at the injustices and social inequities they see about them to rebel against capitalist society. They

may be motivated by admirable ethical principles, by splendid visions of the good society. But their rebellion remains largely blind, its effectiveness impaired, without a scientific understanding of the society against which they rebel or of the social forces that can change it. Because Marxism shows precisely which social forces are interested in basic change and how to channel their protest against social injustice into effective, organized movements, it is a science of human liberation.

The growth of Marxism-Leninism attests to two key facts of contemporary history: capitalism inexorably produces, in wage workers, a class which opposes that system, and the working class finds in Marxism-Leninism the ideological instrument for realization of its aims and aspirations.

Marxism-Leninism is the world outlook of the working class, the theoretical instrument essential for achievement of working-class political power. Nowhere has the working class achieved victory without it.

This explains the phenomenal spread of Marxism. The property of a handful of revolutionary exiles little more than a century ago, today it guides one-third of mankind in the socialist countries. It has tens of millions of adherents in the non-socialist world. The dominant powers of the old capitalist order have employed all their intellectual resources to "refute" Marxism. They have employed their formidable police apparatus to suppress it. They have employed their military might to crush it. Yet it grows. The rulers of America have repeatedly declared Marxism dead. They have branded it as alien to this land. But this program is itself one of many proofs that Marxism is deeply imbedded in our soil. Here, as elsewhere, it is linked with an irrepressible striving for freedom.

Frightened by this phenomenon, unable to under-

stand it, defenders of the old order resort to the absurd theory of "conspiracy" to explain it. This is the ultimate rejection of history as a rational science. It is also the ultimate expression of contempt for human beings, for it asserts that hundreds of millions are embarked upon social revolution, with all its trials and hazards, by the mere manipulation of conspirators.

Another sort of accusation is also levelled against Marxism. Since it asserts that social development proceeds according to laws that are independent of human will, it is said that Marxism dismisses or belittles human will, that it is a fatalistic theory. Such an argument totally misconceives the function of science. Man's discovery of natural laws does not produce fatalistic resignation to the forces of nature. On the contrary, fatalism was most pronounced when people were ignorant of natural laws. But with the advance of science people have erected ever more effective barriers to natural calamities. Similarly, people had the will to fly centuries ago, but only through mastery of natural laws did the desire become a reality. Human will is chained by ignorance. It is released by scientific knowledge.

Likewise, the greater the mastery of the laws of social development, the greater the range for the effective expression of the human will. Those who exalt human will as absolute in reality reduce it to nothing. For without scientific understanding of both possibilities and limitations for expression of human will at any given stage of social development, it can be rendered as futile as Canute's command for the tides to halt. Marxism elevates human will and aspiration and enhances their effectiveness as forces for social progress by arming them with the consciousness of the laws which surround them.

The development of Marxism is an inseparable part of the overall advancement of scientific knowledge.

Marx and Engels developed their theory utilizing and building upon the valid discoveries of their outstanding predecessors in the fields of philosophy, political economy, history and political theory.

Today, natural science is making tremendous strides, investigating phenomena from the farthest reaches of the universe to the near-infinitesimal. Its application in industry, agriculture, communications and energy is radically altering patterns of life around the globe. The scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism can not be divorced from these great strides in the physical and biological sciences. It is a revolutionizing force because it expresses profound truths about nature and society and their laws of development.

Like Darwin's theory of evolution and Einstein's theory of relativity, Marxism illuminates mankind's true place in nature. By showing for the first time the laws governing the succession of social systems, and proving the transient character of capitalism, Marxism qualitatively raises the level of self-awareness of mankind.

Marxism's dialectical method of investigating the causes of change—of seeking out opposing tendencies within a given phenomenon—has proven to be of tremendous use in the natural and the social sciences alike. Consciously or not, scientists proceed by applying general laws of development to a particular field of study. Therefore, scientific findings in diverse fields confirm and elaborate the philosophy of dialectical materialism.

By renouncing all forms of exploitative social relations and refuting the rationales which have justified them, Marxism provides the basis for freeing science from the social prejudices which have often warped and inhibited its development.

In socialist society, whose construction is guided by the theory of scientific socialism, humankind is for the

first time organized in a fashion which permits the unfettered development of science and its application for the common good.

The scope of the intellectual achievement of Marxism is all the more impressive because its advance is bitterly resisted by the furious prejudices which are summoned by the forces of privilege, oppression and ignorance.

Like any other science, Marxism consists of conclusions and laws tested in the laboratory of historical experience. And, like any science, Marxism develops and expands with the appearance of new phenomena, with the accumulation of experience, with the enlargement of knowledge. Indeed, its very methodology, which requires that all things be studied in their concrete form and in the process of change, demands constant re-examination of its relationship to changing realities. Dogmatism, which proclaims the revelation of eternal truths, is directly contrary to the spirit of Marxism.

Marxism is not only rational; it is humanist in the best and most profound meaning of the term. It explains the world in order to change it for the better. It is science in the service of humankind. It is compass and weapon in the struggle of our time to liberate humanity from the fetters of exploitation, oppression and war, to attain the vast measure of abundance, knowledge and freedom now within human reach.

## AN INVITATION

If you agree with our program, we invite you to join us.

If you agree with parts of our program, we are ready to work with you for common goals. We expect to be judged, as we judge others, by the sincerity and effectiveness of our efforts.

We welcome a reasoned dialogue on points of difference. Some will be resolved by discussion, others by historical experience. We are open to persuasion; we hope you are too.

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